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DECLARATION OF THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS

Investigated by a primitive Catholic.

IN the early part of the present summer, the Catholic Bishops of Great Britain issued a Declaration of their religious tenets in the shape of a denial of the many absurdities imputed to them. It appears as if this Declaration was sent forth preparatory to the general election.

Attached to the Declaration by the Bishops is an "Address from the British Roman Catholics to their Protestant Fellow-Countrymen" in approbation of that document.

As far as any thing called Christianity can be ably descanted upon, they are two well-written documents. The preamble to the Declaration is good, because it applies alike to the weakest or persecuted party in all affairs of religion. The principle of religious persecution is ever the same in all religions and in all men: It is the evil part of human nature. The first Christians were called Atheists by the Pagans; the first Protestants were called Atheists by the Catholics; the Unitarians by the Protestants; the Deists by the Unitarians; and the Materialists by the Deists. Under this view and explanation, I insert the whole preamble.

"When we consider the misrepresentations of the Catholic religion, which are so industriously and widely propagated in this country, we are filled with astonishment. But our astonishment subsides, when we call to mind, that the character of Christ was himself misrepresented: he was charged with blasphemy, with breaking the sabbath, and with forbidding tribute to be paid to Cæsar:*—that the apostles and disciples of Christ were misrepresented,—they were charged with speaking blasphemous words against Moses and against God, with exciting sedition, and with many other grievous offences entirely devoid of proof,† and that misrepresentation was the general lot of Christians in the first ages of the church. The primitive Christians were first calumniated and held up to public contempt, and then persecuted and deprived, not only of their civil rights and privileges, but of their property, and even of their very lives. They were charged with idolatry, with horrid cruelties, and other flagitious

* Matt. xxvi. 65. Mark iii. 22. John ix. 16. Luke xxiii. 2.

† Acts vi. 11. xxiv. 5. xxv. 7.

crimes, even in their religious worship. In a word, their whole religion was described as a system of folly and superstition, grounded on no one rational principle.

" St. Justin and Tertullian, in their Apologies for the Christian religion, endeavoured to dispel these misrepresentations, by exhibiting the real doctrines and precepts, and explaining some of the sacred rites of the Christian religion. They showed that these injurious misrepresentations were, in many instances, the inventions of men, who, unable to withstand the evidences of the divine establishment of Christianity, endeavoured to excite prejudices against it in the minds of the people, by holding out its doctrines as absurd and impious, and its professors as the causes of every public calamity.

" St. Augustin complained of the calumnies which were circulated against the Catholic church, by the Manicheans and Donatists in his age. He humbly confessed and lamented, that he himself had employed the same weapons against the church, when he was attached to the former of these sects,* and acknowledged that he then blindly, and rashly, and falsely, accused the Catholic church of doctrines and opinions, which, he was at length convinced, she never taught, believed, or held.

" The Catholics of Great Britain have to lament and to complain that the doctrines and religious rites which, as Catholics, they are taught by their church to believe and observe, have been long grossly misconceived and misrepresented in this country, to the great injury of their religious character and temporal interests.

" They are persuaded that many, who are opposed to them on account of their religion, suppose, without inquiry, that the Catholic church really teaches all that she is reported by her adversaries to teach; and imagine that she is responsible for every absurd opinion entertained, and for every act of superstition performed, by every individual who bears the name of Catholic.

" We hope that all who are animated with a love of truth, and with sentiments of Christian charity, will be disposed willingly to listen to the sincere declarations of their Catholic fellow-countrymen, and will never impute to their religion, principles or practices which, as Catholics, they do not hold or observe, and which their church condemns as errors or abuses.

" In this hope and persuasion, the British Catholics have made repeated declarations of their religious doctrines, and have shewn, they trust to the satisfaction of all who have paid attention to them, that they hold no religious principles, and entertain no opinions flowing from those principles, that are not perfectly consistent with the sacred duties which, as Christians, they owe to Almighty God; with all the civil duties which as subjects, they owe to their sovereign and the constituted civil government of their country; and with all the social duties which, as citizens, they owe to their fellow-subjects, whatever may be their religious creed.

" They had flattered themselves that the numerous and uniform expositions of their religious doctrines, given in public professions of the Catholic faith, in Catholic catechisms, in various authentic documents, and in declarations confirmed by their solemn oaths, would have abundantly sufficed to correct all misrepresentations of their real tenets.

" But they have to regret that some grievous misconceptions, regarding certain points of Catholic doctrine, are, unhappily, still found to exist in the minds of many, whose good opinion they value, and whose good-will

‡ *Gaudens erubui; non me tot annos adversus Catholicam fidem, sed contra carnalium cogitationum figmenta latrasse.*

they wish to conciliate. To their grief they hear, that, notwithstanding all their declarations to the contrary, they are still exhibited to the public as men, holding the most erroneous, unscriptural, and unreasonable doctrines—grounding their faith on human authority, and not on the word of God—as enemies to the circulation and to the reading of the Holy Scriptures—as guilty of idolatry in the sacrifice of the mass, in the adoration, as it is called, of the Virgin Mary, and in the worship of the saints, and of the images of Christ and of the saints; and as guilty of superstition in invoking the saints; and in praying for the souls in purgatory;—as usurping a divine power of forgiving sins, and imposing the yoke of confession on the people—as giving leave to commit sin by indulgences—as despising the obligation of an oath—as dividing their allegiance between their king and the pope—as claiming the property of the church establishment—as holding the uncharitable doctrine of exclusive salvation, and as maintaining that faith is not to be kept with heretics.

“We are at a loss to conceive, why the holding of certain religious doctrines, which have no connection with civil or social duties, whether those doctrines are taken in the sense in which they are misconstrued by others, or in the sense in which they are uniformly understood by Catholics, should be made a subject of crimination against British Catholics, by those who assume to themselves liberty of thinking what they please, in matters of religious belief. It is difficult to understand, why doctrines purely religious, in no wise affecting the duties which Catholics owe to their sovereign or to civil society, should be brought forward at all when the question relates only to the civil rights and privileges which they claim as British subjects. It is much to be wished that those who declaim against what they call the errors and superstitions of popery, would first learn from Catholics themselves, by inquiry, what their real doctrines are, on the points above alluded to, and in what sense Catholics understand the terms by which their doctrines are expressed. They would perhaps find that they have been hitherto contending, not against the Catholic faith, but against the fictions of their own imaginations, or against their own misconstructions of the language of the Catholic Church.

“Though we might refer to former expositions of the faith of Catholics, which we deem amply sufficient to correct the misconceptions, and to refute the misrepresentations of our doctrines; yet, it having been stated to us, that by publishing at the present time, a plain and correct declaration of our real tenets, on those points which are still so much misrepresented; or misconceived, a better understanding may be established among his Majesty's subjects, and the advancement of religion and charity may be effected; hence, we, the undersigned Catholics, the Vicars Apostolic and their Coadjutors in Great Britain, have thought it our duty to publish the following declaration, in the hope, that it will be received by all who read it, with the same love of truth, and the same good-will, with which it is given.”

All the assumptions of the preamble are fairly made: my investigation must commence with the sections of the Declaration. I would have given the document as a whole, were it not that it would nearly fill my Number, and leave me but little room for observation. As my view is not to cavil with, but to instruct the modern Catholic, I shall take care not to garble a passage nor to give one incomplete in its sense by omissions. The second and third paragraphs of the first section are thus set forth, as the

foundation of Catholicism ; and if I shew that foundation to be bad, the fabric cannot be securely occupied :—

“ All those doctrines, and only those doctrines, are articles of Catholic faith, which are revealed by Almighty God.

“ Whatsoever is revealed by God, who knows all things, as they are in themselves, and who cannot deceive us, by teaching falsehood for truth, is most true and certain ; though it may entirely surpass the comprehension of created minds.”

In answer to the first, I have to observe, that, if there be no proof of doctrines revealed by Almighty God, the Catholic Church has no articles of faith. The word *only* excludes all other ; and the next step on the part of the Declarators should have been a proof that God Almighty has revealed certain doctrines to mankind.

The second paragraph contains a contradiction which annuls the weight of both. It states that what God has revealed is most true, *though it may entirely surpass the comprehension of created minds*. Where there is no comprehension there can be no revelation. Revelation implies comprehension. Without it, there can be no knowledge of truth. To reveal that which remains beyond comprehension is one of those contradictions which an Almighty God, and, what is more, an intelligent man cannot reconcile. So far it will be seen that nothing is proved for the doctrines of the Catholic religion.

The third and fourth paragraphs beg the question as to divine revelation and truth, upon that begging of the question draw the most absurd and unwarrantable conclusion, and found a series of physically erroneous assumptions, such as the doctrine of the Trinity, and future distinct life to an identical dead body.

The sixth paragraph states, that, “ The Catholic is fully persuaded, that all the articles of his faith are really revealed by Almighty God.” Upon what is that persuasion founded ? Persuasion should be preceded by demonstration, or, at least, by argument. This Declaration avows persuasion without shewing any foundation for it. The question of the seventh paragraph as to whether the Catholic is not entitled to the liberty of thought as well as others, bears not on the point. The fault is not that he is not allowed to think ; no power can hinder him from thinking ; but the fault is, that the Catholic will not or does not think for himself ; the fault is, that he does not claim that right from his priest, and that he blindly submits to what that priest teaches him. This point we find admitted in the second section, and as this section is pithy upon the whole question of dispute, I insert it at large. —

"SECTION II.

"On the grounds of the certitude which a Catholic has, that all the Doctrines which he believes, as articles of Catholic Faith, are really revealed by Almighty God.

"Catholics are often charged with grounding their faith on mere human authority, and not on the word of God.

"Catholics deny this, because they are convinced, that their faith is grounded on the word of God, proposed to them by the authority of that ministry, which Christ established, and appointed to teach his revealed doctrines to all nations.

"The Catholic believes all those doctrines, which God has revealed.

"The question, *what* are those doctrines, which God has revealed, is a question of FACT. It appears reasonable that the existence of a *fact* should be ascertained by the evidence of *testimony*.

"The body of the doctrines, precepts, and institutions, which were delivered by Christ to his apostles, constitutes the new or the Christian law; as the body of the doctrines, precepts, and institutions, which were delivered by the Almighty to Moses, constituted the old law.

"The true and certain knowledge of what is commanded by any law, is generally communicated and obtained by the authoritative *promulgation* of the law.

"By the ordinance of God, the doctrines and precepts of the old law were made known to the Israelites and Jewish people, by Moses, and the priests in succession, till the end of the law.

"By the ordinance of God, the doctrines and precepts of the new law were to be made known to all nations, in all ages, by the apostles and their successors, to the consummation of the world.

"On the spiritual authority of the apostles and their successors, who were divinely commissioned to promulgate and teach the law of Christ to all nations; and on the uniform and universal testimony, belief, and practice of all Christian Churches from the beginning, the certitude of the Catholic is grounded, that all the doctrines which he believes, as articles of Catholic Faith, and all the sacred precepts and rites, which he observes, as the ordinances of Christ, were really revealed and instituted by Almighty God: and are the same, as were originally delivered by Christ to his apostles, and by them promulgated over all nations.

"The Catholic is fully satisfied, that this method which he follows, for ascertaining *what* are the revealed doctrines of divine faith, is the right rule, and that it leads him to the unity of truth.

"Is he not at liberty to follow a rule which gives such satisfaction and security to his mind?

"Is it fair for others who, by following a different rule, are led into a countless variety of contradictory doctrines on matters of Christian belief, to disturb the tranquillity of the Catholic on this head, or to condemn him, for his *submission to the authority of a ministry*, which he is convinced was established by Christ for the purpose of bringing all nations to the certain knowledge of his law, and to the unity of faith? Is not this rule perfectly natural and reasonable? Can any human legislator condemn the principle and rule of the Catholic in this regard?"

All the great points on which the fabric of the Christian religion rests are here assumed as established and indisputable. I

grant that the Roman Catholic Church, by succession, is nearer to the first Christians than any other Church in the west of Europe. I grant that its authority to dictate and its foundation are greater than those of any other Church, except the Grecian; but I cannot grant the false premises assumed in this section, that the whole Christian religion is not founded upon fable, that a person called Christ and other persons his companions did really exist and leave a new doctrine behind them. I see no testimony for these premises. I find them, by examination, to be matters of late invention, when compared with the assigned time of their origin. The words *Almighty God* are words which carry no weight to a critical mind; when examined, when fairly weighed against existing things, as all words should be weighed, they are found to have been an *almighty delusion*. With the Catholics, we find the Reverend Robert Taylor, A. B. and M. R. C. S. Chaplain of the Society of Universal Benevolence, and Orator of the Christian Evidence Society, giving notice of his intention to perform divine service and worship *to, for, or at Almighty God*, on Sunday next. Thomas Paine had an Almighty God. Every Jew, Christian, Mahometan, and Theist, has an Almighty God, and yet this almighty author or source of religion has never kept his votaries from cutting each other's throats about the superiority or inferiority of each system of worship. If there were an Almighty God well-disposed toward, and valuing the worship of, mankind, it was his duty so to have made himself known, that there could have been no dispute about him. As it now stands, this creator of all things has created nothing but confusion on that most essential point—a *revealed knowledge of himself*. The Catholic has no fact, testimony, or certitude, upon the subject; and all the written documents are without ancient authority; they are all comparatively modern forgeries.

The third section states the conditions on which the Catholic Church encourages the reading of the Bible, and, to other Christians, those conditions are unanswerable on the ground of religious disputation. The Christian religion abounds with errors and evils: in the matter of reading the Bible, the Catholic priests preserve the lesser evil.

The fourth section gives an able answer to the charge of idolatry and superstition made by other Christians upon the Catholics—*able* with reference to the general idolatry and superstition of the Christians; but proving nothing in reference to the first principles of idolatry and superstition.

The fifth section explains the principle of absolution of sins in the Catholic Church, and quotes enough of *holy scripture authority* for what is done on that head, if that authority were good for any thing.

The same may be said for the sixth section on indulgences.

The seventh asserts the seriousness and validity of all oaths

made by Catholics. I dispute nothing on this head, but reiterate the general vice and mischief of all kinds of oath-making.

The eighth section is explanatory of the distinction between allegiance to the temporal sovereign and obedience to the Pope.

The ninth denies the claim of British Catholics to the property of the Church establishment in England.

The tenth admits the charitable common Christian doctrine of exclusive salvation. The salvation to those who are not Christians will be in the exclusion.

In the eleventh and last section, the imputation, that "faith is not to be kept with heretics" being a Catholic principle, is denied; but we must take the Catholic Church, as we ought to take every thing else, to be what we see it in practice.

The spirit of this declaration is good, as a defence against a list of common charges; but declarations like these have no connection with the actions of a large body of people. In all sects, there is a spirit of malignant opposition to other sects, which no Declaration of this kind can remove or controul. This Declaration might have been truly the sentiments of the writer and of those priests who have subscribed their names; but what has it to do with the spirit and disposition of the labouring Catholics of Ireland, or of the people of Spain, Portugal, Italy and other places? It might be the sincere sentiments of the lay Catholics, who have sent forth their names with it; but take an Irish labourer, who is a Catholic, in London, ask his opinion of it, and he will swear it is altogether a heresy, if he hears nothing of the signature of the priests. It is among the ignorant that religion becomes the most vicious.

The purpose for which the Declaration under review has been written is evidently that of explanation and conciliation with the Protestants; and it is due to the issuers of it, that I give their concluding paragraph:—

"CONCLUSION.

"Having, in the foregoing declaration, endeavoured to state, in the simplicity of truth, such doctrines of our church as are most frequently misrepresented or misunderstood in this country, and to explain the meaning in which Catholics understand the terms by which these doctrines are expressed in the language of their church; we confidently trust, that this declaration and explanation will be received by all our fellow-subjects, in a spirit of candour and charity; and that those who have been hitherto ignorant of, or but imperfectly acquainted with our doctrines of faith, will do us the justice to acknowledge, that, as Catholics, we hold no religious principles, and entertain no opinions flowing from those principles, which are not perfectly consistent with our duties as Christians, and as British subjects."

I have no fear at seeing the Roman Catholics put upon the footing of the other sects; though I view their obstacles as trifles of their own creation. The question is no longer whether Roman

Catholics shall triumph over Protestants or Protestants over Catholics; but *whether Christianity shall exist in any shape as a state religion, or whether there shall be a state religion.* There is the grand question of religion or no religion before the public, and all the affairs of the sects are minor trifles, not deserving to be looked upon as public matters. Let the Catholics look to this: let them not look upon their religious dogmas as established truths. There is not an instance on record, where a religion, as the religion of the state, once overthrown, ever recovered its former power: and the cause of this constant change is that nothing under the name of religion has a foundation in nature, truth, or what we call physical principles. Let the Catholics look to this, and they will soon emancipate themselves. Why am not I emancipated, with all my obnoxious tenets? Why? Because I rest on truth, as far as I can see it, and hold myself open to all the changes that further enquiry can make on my mind; and, in this case, I hold myself as a primitive Catholic, to be more wise, consistent and sincere than the modern Roman Catholic.

R. C.

PRIESTCRAFT.

[The following Specimen of Practical Roman Catholicism is the best answer that can be adopted by the Protestants to the foregoing Declaration.]

THE age of miracles may be over in other countries, but not in Spain, for it was no longer ago than last year that the following very remarkable one took place, and which is firmly believed by all *white (blancos)* Spaniards. During the great drought of last summer prayers were offered up in all the churches for rain, and amongst others in that of the village of *Las Cabezas de San Juan* in Andalusia, where the unfortunate Riego proclaimed the Constitution. But it was in vain that the patron Saint Nicholas was worried with prayers—he was, it seems, not a wet saint, for not a drop of rain fell. However, on a Sunday, as the faithful were at their devotions in his church, they perceived a letter in the hand of the Saint. Some of the most devout approached to take it, but though Saint Nicholas *de las Cabezas de San Juan* is no more yielding material than wood, yet he raised the hand in which he held the letter, which was taken as an unequivocal sign that he was unwilling to deliver it. The Cure being informed of the circumstance came in full canonicals to the Saint and prayed him humbly to give him the letter, which the Saint by lowering his hand, acceded to; and the Cure took the mission and read it to the congregation, to

their infinite edification. It was couched in the following terms:—

“ Abodes of the Blessed, May 1, 1824.

“ My beloved Nicholas, I have heard your continual prayers to me to send down rain upon your country: you have, no doubt, forgotten the crimes with which your rebel village is stained, and which are the cause of the drought which now afflicts unfortunate Spain. It is in vain you ask for water—at present it is impossible for me to oblige you.—Except rain, ask any thing else you wish from

Your ever affectionate,

(signed)

THE ETERNAL FATHER.”

This miracle was of public notoriety, and made a considerable noise, not only in Andalusia, but all over Spain. Even at present should any one be imprudent enough to express any doubt of it before the brave inhabitants of *Las Cabezas de San Juan*, he would run considerable risk of broken bones if not loss of life.

CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE SOCIETY.

THE society which has existed in London near two years under this denomination has at length obtained a chapel; but not the chapel in Canon-street for which a deposit was made. Some impediments have been thrown in the way of getting possession of that chapel; but until that point can be settled, the Rev. Robert Taylor has got possession of the Founder's Hall Chapel, Lothbury, near the Bank of England. The following placard has been left in my shop:—

SOCIETY OF UNIVERSAL BENEVOLENCE,

Instituted in Dublin, March 14, 1824. For the public worship of Almighty God, and inculcation of moral duties, without reference to any dogmas or authorities of antiquity.—*Divine Service* will be performed, and a SERMON preached in the Society's Chapel, Founder's Hall, Lothbury, on Sunday Morning next, at eleven o'clock, and the like regularly continued, by the REV. ROBERT TAYLOR, A.B. and M.R.C.S. Chaplain of the Society, and Orator of the Christian Evidence Society.

ROBERT TAYLOR—17, Carey-street.

Here, it appears, that we are to have sacred dramas performed on a Sunday. The lovers of novelties wanted something new in the church way, and now they will have it in perfection.

R. C.

STATE OF THE LABOURING CLASS.

FROM all parts of the country we hear of the distress of the labourers. Thousands of men, able and willing to work for their subsistence, cannot find employment; and the generality of those who obtain employment are so miserably remunerated as to be but little better off than their idle brethren. Miseries without end, and the dreadful miseries flowing from partial starvation, are the results. Nor have we good reasons to hope that this sad state of things will speedily change for the better; but rather, as the winter is approaching and trade in general growing worse, we have reasons to expect that the number of sufferers and the intensity of their sufferings will be much increased.

Every one, possessing the least spark of humanity, must feel desirous to remove such sufferings far from the abode of any of his species. But how is this to be effected? This question throws a dampth upon the generous feelings which sympathy had produced. The cause of these sufferings cannot be immediately removed; and even to alleviate, in a very partial degree, the miseries to which so large a portion of our fellow-countrymen are subjected, requires our best energies, the application of all our means. It is often boasted that an Englishman in his own country has no occasion to want subsistence; the poor laws, as a last resource, always provide for him. But what is the provision these laws ensure to the unemployed labourer? A miserable pittance, scarcely enough to support life; in short, not enough to support life, excepting for a short period. Two shillings a-week each for full grown persons, and one shilling a-week each for children, I have been assured, are the utmost allowances made in many of our manufacturing towns to persons destitute of employment. Thousands of poor creatures are constrained to accept this wretched boon in the hope of keeping body and soul together till the arrival of better times; but while thus starving by inches they acquire innumerable diseases, under which many sink, and others live but to hand them to their posterity.

But if distress continue long, even this miserable pittance must fail. The almost immediate effect of the poor laws is to increase the number of poor; many, who could otherwise have obtained the necessaries of life, are by the operation of the poor laws reduced to beg parish relief. A manufacturer of Frome lately told me, that in Frome alone four thousand persons were wanting employment, and that although they were relieved at the above trifling rate, even that could not be continued, must be lowered. He added that the present year's poor-rate would exceed their rental in amount, and that many of the lesser tradesmen were, and more would be, on the poor-book. Whence, then, can relief come?

The purses of the rich seem to be the only immediate resource ; but these, I fear, judging from past experience, will be but partially opened. The members of the executive government, as a portion of the rich and acquiring their riches directly from the suffering people, ought to come forward most liberally. Some of them have already opened their purses, and handed over a *small portion* of their immense incomes to aid their starving brethren ; but many of them are callous to the call of their suffering fellow-men, and dead to humanity.

Many persons think that the legislature has it in its power to remove the evil. By materially contracting their expenditure the members of the executive may greatly benefit the country at large, and it would have some, though but little, effect towards bettering the condition of the labouring class ; but I do not think that much immediate good could be done by legislation. To supply money from the treasury is but to extend the system of poor laws ; a system which, if acted upon according to the intention of its founders, would eventually make us all paupers.

The philanthropist would fain persuade himself that these assertions are unfounded. Whenever he sees misery existing, he wishes to remove it, and he attempts to believe that there are means of doing it. Philanthropy is a noble feeling, without it life is a burden to its possessor ; but in order to be a benefactor to mankind it is not sufficient to love them, it is necessary to study the science of man, his position in the world and relation to the objects which surround him : it is necessary to know mankind in order to effectually serve them.

The history of every civilized community, of long duration, presents us with instances of distress similar to what we are at present experiencing. The natural cause, the foundation of the evil, has always been the same, and till this be removed the same disastrous effects will be occasionally felt. On a first examination, when we discover that the evil results from a cause inherent in man, the mere philanthropist might be inclined to give up all thoughts of removing it as being impracticable, and confine himself to the task of alleviating the evil as much as possible when its effects are felt. But not so with the philosophical lover of mankind ; he searches even to the root of the evil, and at last finds that a preventative is at hand, only requiring that the majority of mankind should understand and adopt it. To the often-abused political economists are we indebted for a guide to this valuable knowledge, a knowledge which, when once generally obtained, will enable mankind to remove, not only the now oft-recurring evil of thousands dying from starvation, but many others which are now immovable ; in short, offers them the means to increase the general happiness almost indefinitely.

When the principle of population was first broached it was thought to seal the hopes of the philanthropist, to fix a boun-

dary, already often reached, beyond which the human race, in its pursuit of happiness, could not go; but a deeper investigation has led to a knowledge of the means whereby this imaginary boundary may be past, and the happiness of mankind wrought to an extent of which we can have no conception. Let it then be the aim of every lover of mankind to disseminate a knowledge of the principle of population. This is the only means of permanently ameliorating the condition of mankind. The alleviation of present distress may be likened to plucking the head from a weed with the intent of destroying it, but the root being left in the ground gathers strength and shoots forth again with greater vigour: the skilful gardener plucks root and all, and is in this instance a proper teacher for the would-be benefactor of mankind.

The utility of disseminating a knowledge of the principle of population has often been set forth in this and other publications; but it is a matter of the first importance, and must be again and again set forth, till men shall be thoroughly acquainted with it, and know and feel its importance to themselves and their posterity.

Some persons seem surprized to find that while the nation is apparently increasing in wealth and splendour, that the majority of the people, the labouring class, are getting less and less of the means of subsistence. But they are both effects of the same cause, and necessarily accompanying each other. An excessive population is sure to occasion a monopoly of wealth in the hands of a few persons; and hence splendour is to be seen in the palace although poverty surrounds it. A restricted population would do away with both those unnatural states, splendour and poverty, both detrimental to the happiness of man. The conduct that shall procure the labouring class the means of a comfortable subsistence shall as surely deprive the monopolists of the means of profusion.

If the principle of population be not acted upon, the mass of the people of this country will sink as low in the scale of human existence as the lowest of the Irish now are. Nothing else can prevent it; it requires but little observation to assure any one that rapid progress is making towards that lowest of all possible states of human, civilized existence—the brink of starvation, over which a slight failure of crop tumbles the redundant miseries. Can men look forward to such a state and not bestir themselves? Surely they cannot; the thought that a child, or even a child's child, may be one of the starving thousands, must rouse any one to action who possesses a single spark of humanity. Within the last twenty years, the state of the labourers has greatly changed for the worst. Some have said that the English labourer could not descend so low in the scale as the Irish, because the former would never make potatoes his main support. Let any one who considers this assertion well founded look at the food of the agri-

cultural labourers in most parts of the country. Twenty years since the farm labourer lived principally on good wheaten bread, and a scarcity only drove him to a barley cake; but now he depends mostly on his potatoe crop, and obtains wheat or barley only now and then in small quantities, more or less according to the season. Then, too, nine labourers of every ten could fat their own bacon, and keep a stock the year round; now not one in twenty can do this, for after receiving parish relief they can no more have such property to call their own. Six shillings a-week, in some few instances seven or eight, are the wages now paid to a strong, healthy labourer in the counties of Dorset and Somerset, and I suppose they are nearly the same throughout the kingdom. How can the labourers make bread their main support with such a pittance?

It is in the power of every one to do something towards staying the progress of this evil, by teaching, whenever an opportunity occurs, the cause and the method by which it may be removed; but the matter depends mainly on the labourers themselves, it is they who must be the immediate actors.

It is impossible but that the labourers themselves must see that it is an excess of population which reduces their wages; but although they see this and are convinced that a restricted population would greatly mend their condition, as they do find all their brethren inclined to exert themselves to obtain the desired object, each one declines doing any thing, thinking that what a few may be able to effect would not materially benefit the whole. But it is only by a few setting the example that the majority will ever be led to adopt the proposed measures: the greater number of men have not mind sufficient to adopt any thing new, any novelty of importance, until they see it practised by others, and witness its good effects.

All that each labourer has to do is to take care not to let the number of his family be more than he can rear and educate respectably and with ease to himself. Each one that does this does his part towards bettering the condition of his class, and deserves the praise of his fellow-men; but he who does not, he who brings into the world a number of beings beyond his power to support, beings born only to be a burden to themselves and others, is an enemy to the welfare of his species, and, if he knew how to avoid it, deserving severe reprobation. For my own part, I cannot conceive how any man, who has to depend on his labour for subsistence, can be so blind to his own *immediate* interests as to have a numerous family when he can possibly avoid it. I am not so much surprized that a man should think but little of the distant benefit he may confer on society by restricting his family; but I am surprized that he should not more readily appreciate the immediate advantages which it would procure for himself.

Does it require an argument to prove that a labouring man is

better off with two children than with eight or ten? I think not, for we can see the proof of it if we look into the labourers' cottages. When acquiring knowledge of any sort, I endeavour, after learning a little of first principles, to proceed as much as possible by observation; and this has led me, during a few week's stay in the country, to visit the cottage of the labourer whenever I had an opportunity. The results of my observations were always the same: poor as were those who had but few in family, they uniformly looked better and had more comforts about them than their unfortunate brethren whose mates had been more prolific. In one family I saw ten children, the oldest apparently about fifteen, the youngest in arms. Every face told the tale of want, and the habitation plainly enough bespoke the abode of wretchedness. "A long family," said I, "Thomas, for these hard times."—"Aye, it is, Master, sure enough. I work hard all the week for seven shillings, my two oldest boys earn five more, and the parish allows my six youngest children each a shilling a week; and thus eighteen shillings is all the money we have to keep twelve persons. My wife has not been able to earn any thing since her seventh child; she is now so weak that she can scarcely keep about to take care of the children while I am out in field."—"Tis bad, Thomas, to have so many mouths to satisfy out of such small means, but you are not quite so badly off as some of your neighbours, you have your own cottage and no rent to pay."—"Ah! Master, I wish it was my own cottage. Shortly after poor father's death my wife lay in with her seventh child, and was ill so long that I was forced to sell the house over my head, and have now to pay a shilling a week for the rent." Poor Thomas's case is not a singular one; few persons who know much of agricultural labourers but must have witnessed its parallel. Had Thomas, when young, been taught to restrict the number of his family, he might now, even in these hard times, have been tolerably comfortable. Had his wife borne him but two children, she would most probably have still been strong and able to join him in the labours of the field; and theirs and their children's earnings would, at least, have provided the necessaries of life, besides keeping him from the degrading parish relief and the necessity of selling his home.

Philanthropists! let the case of poor Thomas stimulate you to prevent others sharing the same fate. Fellow-labourers! You who are not yet encumbered with long families, let me persuade you to take warning: it is your own faults if you do not know how to restrict your families; and should you ever suffer like poor Thomas, it will be deservedly.

R. H.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, 62, FLEET STREET.

SIR,

July 24, 1826.

IN reading the last Number but one of "The Republican," the account you therein have given of your various conflicts with corruption, your firm and fearless conduct, reminded me of some lines addressed to the Nettle:—

" Vile weed, irascible! whene'er I view
Thy horrent leaves in circling points arise,
And know that underneath each fibre lies
The keen receptacle of venom'd dew;
And when I know, that if, with cautious fear,
I touch thy power, it *punishes my dread*;
But if with dauntless hand, approaching near,
I grasp thee full and firm—that power is dead.
Thus as with 'sdainful thought I view thy stings,
Terrific to the coward wretch alone,
Much do I meditate on Grandeur's throne,
The awe of subjects and the might of kings—
Like thee, they punish those whom they appal;
Like thee, when firmly grasp'd, to native nothing fall."

MR. COBBETT.

I CONTINUE to receive daily notes in exposition of this strange character; but the entire absence of all defence on his part requires that I should not farther notice his mere use of foul epithets. They make no impression on me; for I hold it to be a sound conclusion, that the abuse of a bad man is equal to the praise of one that is good. If a man is to be known by his company, I have nothing to fear from the foul epithets applied to me by Mr. Cobbett. That I have not been ashamed of them but for his sake, my past acknowledgments of their appearance will prove; but my present disposition is not to notice them for the future. Upon the general principles of our late warfare, Mr. Cobbett has ceased to be worth my notice. He has not given a sentence in way of rejoinder; though he promised further critical notice of what, as a publisher, I was doing. It has ever been his rule to abuse a person or system, and then to come round in praise of that person or system, even if he fly off again; and it is not unlikely but that he may in a few months be singing out lustily, not the "beastly atheist;" but "God bless Carlile, and his Every Woman's Book." It is scarcely possible, and analogically impossible, that Mr. Cobbett can refrain long from an approba-

tion of what I have done in this case. They are but few who see the matter correctly and in all its bearings at first sight; but many curious conversions on this ground have come to my knowledge. Many country gentlemen, who feel pain from the distresses which they behold among the labouring people with large families, have carefully given the recommendation their unqualified approbation. Most medical men acquainted with the evils which the want of the anti-conception scheme has produced in families, give to the recommendation their professional and benevolent approbation.

Mr. Cobbett promises a book to be called "The Poor Man's Friend," which is to teach the poor how to *avoid suffering of hunger*. I shall be glad to see his scheme, if it be any thing more than to send the unemployed people to the poor's rate. But how much better is it to have no children than for tender parents to have an insufficiency of food and raiment for them? The poor's rate never did, never will furnish a sufficiency: nor will any thing that Mr. Cobbett is likely to recommend teach the unemployed labouring man how to *avoid the suffering of hunger*.

That my war with Mr. Cobbett has not been without its effect, the Preston election has afforded a great proof, and I now introduce a small one. The following letter is printed as it was received. The name of the writer, if the circumstances be true, would have been desirable, as it could have added but little to the publicity or notoriety of the matter. The promised newspaper will reach these news-rooms with more facility.

Without some new provocative step on the part of Mr. Cobbett, I feel disposed to exclude his name from "The Republican;" though I must still read his Register.

R. C.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE.

SIR,

Shrewsbury, July 21, 1826.

IN this town there has been established a News Room for a period of twenty years, and which is supported by annual subscription:—There are now eighty-nine subscribers. I, and a subscriber now deceased, were the original promoters of it.

In addition to taking most of the London papers, a motion was made by a subscriber about nine years ago, that Mr. Cobbett's Register should be taken, which was carried. About four years afterwards, I, (in justice to the respect, as I conceived, was due to a body of respectable subscribers) introduced a motion that the further taking of the Register, on account of its drivelling and puerile style of composition, excessive egotism, and gross personal abuse, should be discontinued—this was negatived by a majority of ONE, upon the ground of there being no other work that the subscribers would like to supply its place.

Last week I again revived my motion, with the addition that your Republican (which I have for many years felt pleasure in reading) should

be substituted; this was met with an affirmative by a unanimous determination, and I am sure, that "The Republican" will be read with the same gratifying spirit, as was shewn me, when I brought forward my motion for its introduction.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

A— B—

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, 62, FLEET STREET.

SIR,

July 26, 1826.

CLARKE, PERRY, and I, were removed yesterday from Newgate to the Giltspur Street Compter, and as there can be no doubt now of our having to endure our full sentences, I wish to make known to our friends, in London in particular, that I shall be glad to receive employment from any of them that can give it to me, at my trade as BOOT AND SHOEMAKER. I have been long desirous of making such an application; but the state of uncertainty in which we have been during the last four or five months, has induced me to delay it until the present time. Any person may obtain admittance here between the hours of 12 and 2, each day; on Sundays visitors are allowed to remain in till 4, but they must be in before 2: those who could not come at these times could possibly leave a parcel at the gate, or at 62, Fleet Street, which should be properly attended to, and returned to wherever requested. I shall be obliged to your inserting this, or something to the same effect in "The Republican." Those who will employ me, may depend on their having their old soles well repaired, and their whole bodies set on a good foundation.

We have received a Subscription from Sheffield, and it is requested that a notice of it should appear in "The Republican." I enclose a slip for that purpose, if you think right to insert it.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

WILLIAM CAMPION.

TO MR. WILLIAM CAMPION, NEWGATE.

CITIZEN,

Sheffield, July 1826.

I TAKE this opportunity of transmitting to you for yourself and Messrs. Clark, Perry and Hassell, the enclosed tokens of respect and fellow feeling, from your friends in Sheffield: it has been long delayed owing to the pressure of the times; and, perhaps, it is less than it would have been, had we felt less of the blessings "dispensed from the portals of an ancient constitutional monarchy." However that may be, events I think are working for us; and we shall witness some momentous changes ere long: we have nothing to do but to stand calmly by, increase the information of the multitude, and when the proper opportunity arrives, establish what we have so long and so successfully shown the superiority of PURE REPUBLICANISM.

No. 3. Vol. XIV.

I have mislaid your last letter to me, but I recollect your saying, you have heard I am going to leave Sheffield, and enquiring if it be true? At that time I had not decided, but now I think I have. I find that if I stay longer, I shall embarrass myself beyond the powers of retrieving myself out of difficulty; I therefore think it prudent to move in time. I have made myself obnoxious to the Sheffield people by displaying to their horror-stricken eyes, the God Jehovah, and other things tending to overthrow their superstition; and by rescuing a few individuals from the trammels of so degrading a mythology as the Christian one; and they therefore will not support me as a bookseller. The friends I have gathered round me in Sheffield I shall leave with regret; but they are too few, and in too humble circumstances to enable them to render my stay amongst them permanent. I, however, conceive that my residence in some measure has furthered the cause to which I am devoted. I have, in Derbyshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire, been the means of circulating about 540 Infidel alias Rational Publications, exclusive of Republicans, Magazines, &c. These must produce some effect; the principles they contain are too well founded in truth, to glide over the mind and have no impression.

I hope to see you soon and then we will talk over minor matters. If your gaolers should move you to the Compter, you will find some good and pleasant rooms in the front of that prison; where I should suppose they will put you, to prevent your contaminating the other prisoners by mixing with them,

I am Citizen, with respects to Messrs. Clark and Perry,

Yours truly,

W. V. HOLMES.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Sheffield Society for promotion of Truth	5	0	W. Hardwick	1	0
Cash paid and not returned at Paine's Dinner	3	0	Emma Holmes	1	0
Adam Renwick	4	0	Richard Carlile Holmes	0	6
T. T.	3	6	Percy Noel Holmes	0	6
J. P. Cutts	2	6	C. Meedham	0	6
John Pritchard	2	6	T. Rase	0	6
C. W. Haywood	2	6	J. Milner	0	6
			Wm. Gray	0	6

PHRENOLOGY.

It is frequently the case when a man makes a new discovery in science, that he is not content with displaying what he really has discovered, but he must pretend to a great deal more; instead of leaving the affair to time and the labour of many scientific heads, he pretends almost to perfection at once. Such has been the case with many discoveries in the medical science; the new medicine, or mode of treatment, has been put forth to the world as a specific, a certain cure for particular diseases. Such conduct is injurious, for when upon trial some of the promises are found to be fallacious, the whole is often discarded. But such has been and is the conduct pursued by the teachers of Phrenology. That the first principles of the science are well founded must be evident to every intelligent man who will take the trouble to examine them; but the superstructure built upon this good foundation,

has been erected too hastily; for however correct the details of the science may eventually appear to be, it is wrong to put them forth with so much assurance without more proof in their support. The phrenologists complain of being met with ridicule instead of examination and argument; but they have themselves only to blame for it, in pursuing the conduct which I have been reprobating.

I have been a phrenologist, as far as I could understand the science from books, for some time past. Having heard of Mr. De Ville, the professor of Phrenology in the Strand, I one day paid him a visit during the hours that he has appropriated for public examination. I was there before the manipulating commenced, and was much gratified with examining the different busts, of which he has a large collection. Mr. De Ville began with an explanation of the first principles of the science, and, excepting bad grammar, bad pronunciation, and cockneyisms, he succeeded pretty well. He certainly might have made his illustrations more clear, more easy of comprehension to those who knew nothing previously of the science, and of such he ought always to suppose his auditory to be composed; but he said nothing then, as he afterwards did, to make me thankful that I was not known to the company as a Phrenologist.

He next proceeded to speak of the uses of the science; and in respect to education and the prevention or cure of idiotism, he spoke, as it appeared to me, very much to the purpose. I fully agree with him that every schoolmaster should understand Phrenology, in order to suit his method of teaching to the capacities of his pupils. Some boys have a very quick conception, and such have, universally, their perceptive organs strongly developed. For boys of this description the kinds of study cannot be too varied; but their progress must be ascertained, not by the quantity of lessons which they might have learned, but by frequently catechising them, in an irregular manner, on the subjects they have been studying: for quick conceptions are not lasting, and hence it is necessary that they should be brought often to mind in order to be firmly fixed. On the contrary, boys, whose perceptive organs are weak, should be led on by slow degrees and without much variation in their studies; and though they will master but comparatively few lessons, the teacher may depend that this will not be soon forgotten.

He spoke of the objections which were at first made against the science, and amongst others those made on the ground that it led to fatalism and materialism. "These objections," said he, "occasioned me to stop in my career; I laid upon my oars for a time in order to give the subject a little further consideration." But he did not tell us what were the results of "his further consideration;" whether he believed the science to lead to fatalism and materialism, or to the doctrine of free-will; but his present

zeal in its promulgation tells us that he did not think it would lead to any thing hurtful to society. I would just hint to Mr. De Ville, that when in search of truth the truly honest philosopher would not stay his researches to inquire where they were calculated to lead him; his only aim would be the truth, and this he would endeavour to find out and explain, whatever may be the doctrines it tended to support.

Then followed the manipulizing which I so much wished to see. He first began with the children, but not content with stating that only which his real knowledge of the science warranted, he descended to such trifling particularities as must have left an impression on any of those present, who were not Phrenologists, that himself and science were nothing more than an old gipsy and her pretended knowledge of futurity from the lines of the hand. He might with safety have gone so far as to say that one possessed a fine organization; that the anterior portion of the brain was much more strongly developed than the posterior portion; and that hence the education of the child would not be attended with much difficulty, as his animal propensities and passions would be kept in check by his intellectual faculties, which being strong would also enable him to acquire knowledge with facility. That a second possessed a good share both of the animal and intellectual man, and would therefore make a bright character if proper attention were paid to his education. And that a third possessed a preponderating share of the animal propensities and passions, and would consequently require great care and exertion to prevent his becoming a bad member of society. Thus much he might have said with credit to himself and the science, but he pretended to tell the parents that one child would be fond of music and acquire it with great facility; that another would make the most progress in the mathematics; that in learning languages one would readily acquire a knowledge of the principles of grammar, but would find the acquisition of words very difficult; and that another would readily acquire the words but would find it a hard task to understand the rules of their proper combination; that another would be very fond of acquiring wealth, another passionate but soon appeased, another passionate and sulky; that one would readily make an apology for any injury he might have done, while another would apologize for nothing whether right or wrong; with a great deal more in the same nonsensical strain. His examination of adults was not much better. "Fine organization, madam, upon my word, music very large, very large indeed." "O, my dear Sir! I have no capacity at all for music." "Stop, stop, I did not say so. Let me see. Yes, the organ of number rather deficient. Yes, that's how it is, madam, that's how it is; you have but little capacity but you have a great taste, you are *very* fond of music I am fully convinced." "Yes, Sir, I like to hear it well enough." "Yes, yes, I knew that, I knew that,

yes, yes. Yes, passions rather too strong, curious thoughts now and then, curious thoughts. A little too pettish with friends now and then, yes, a little, a little, yes a little pettish now and then. Soon up and soon down though, yes, a little pettish but soon over." What a pity that a new, useful, and well-founded science should be so abused!

When speaking of education, Mr. De Ville was led into some remarks on the effects produced on the brain by exercising particular organs. He said, and I think justly so, that a careful education would materially alter the organization of the head; that is, improve, or enlarge the anterior, and lessen the activity of the posterior portion. He produced a diagram showing the alteration which had taken place, in the course of twenty-one months, in the shape of the head of a child. The anterior portion of the head, measuring from the orifice of the ear, had increased five-eighths of an inch, while the posterior had decreased, if I recollect rightly, two-eighths. The shape of the head as first taken was decidedly bad, but the increase in one way and decrease in the other gave it a pretty tolerable appearance. Mr. de V. supposed this change to have arisen from the manner in which the child had been treated: every endeavour had been made to bring the intellectual organs into play, principally by light studies and amusements; while equal care had been taken to prevent the passions from being aroused. This change is the more remarkable when we consider that the opposite is generally found to be the result of increased age; nine children out of ten having more brain in the anterior part of the head than full grown persons.

There is, generally, a great deal of scepticism respecting this change of the cranium after once formed; but the point can be clearly proved. Those organs of the brain which are most exercised, are supposed, to increase in size; while those which are seldom brought in action decrease: thus the organ of amativeness in a young bull increases in size till the animal is three or four years of age, and this increase distinguishes it from the ox; but if at this age the bull be castrated, the organ will decrease and continue so to do till the distinguishing character of the bull is lost. This shows that the brain will increase in size by frequent exercise, like the muscles of any other part of the body, and that the cranium will follow the brain when it decreases as well as give way to it when it increases. This supports, too, what I have before stated concerning the good which may be affected by proper education, by bringing into activity such organs only as are likely to prove beneficial to their possessors.

It must be recollected that this science is but just in its birth, and requiring much labour and observation to bring it to any thing like perfection; and hence it is necessary to guard against following too implicitly the deductions of those who write upon it; but it is well deserving general attention, and more especially

the attention of materialists as it affords another species of argument against the doctrines of the spiritualists. For my own part, I think it both useful and entertaining, and calculated to add another very material link to the knowledge of mankind; but I must repeat again my regret that it should be so abused by its most zealous supporters. R. H.

The following bit of truth is taken from the Weekly Times Sunday Newspaper.

KINGS AND LITTLE GIRLS.

"GREAT men are but children of a larger growth," is an old and received axiom: kings are but men; therefore, kings are but overgrown boys: though in the instance to which we are about to allude, they rather evince with physical maturity and even with decay, the dispositions of little girls. We meditate no high treason, when we openly assert that our gracious Sovereign George the Fourth is, in some respects as much a little girl, as was ever his illustrious mother. Just, dignified and gracious though he be, he delights in the fine and the mutable. No one doubts the correctness of his taste while it lasts; it is its fickleness which we lament, and which keeps Mr. Wyatville and all the army tailors upon the continual alert, and the nation—the rich, the overtrapped nation—in surmise and doubt. Bishop Earle, philosophizing on the pastime of an infant, says, "We laugh at his foolish sport, but his games are our earnest; and his drums, rattles, and hobby-horses; but the emblems and mocking of man's business." There cannot be a truer illustration of this, than afforded by the actions of a King. The boy trundles a hoop where he will; the King makes equally free with the wedding-rings of his court; the boy builds houses of cards and puffs them down again; the King erects lath and plaster pavilions, paints and gilds them over, and leaves them to the housemaids and moths; the boy gambles with his half-crown; the King almost to the extent of a whole one; the boy plays at battledore and shuttlecock; so does the King, with this difference; he throws up the contentment of a people, and strikes it up and up with the battledore of taxation. The boy tyrannizes over two or three individuals; the King over millions; the boy is softened and pleased with sugarcandy; the King with a parliamentary grant; the boy plays with wooden soldiers; the King has his grand review-days. The boy, if left unheeded, surfeits himself with home-made wine, apples and peaches; the King is carried off to bed overcome by champagne-punch, turtle, sturgeon and venison.

We might go on with the similitude, but let us not forget sovereigns and little girls. Who has not seen a young miss with her first doll? Who has not seen it dressed and undressed, and readorned ten times in as many hours, some new improvement always striking the fancy of the juvenile owner.—Now it has a feather clapped in its hair, now a ribband, now it takes a cap; in the morning, muslin; lace in the afternoon; at night, satin. Thus, the little waxen image is doomed to be continually handled, and tumbled over until a new toy shall cause it to be, for ever, discarded. So with Kings and their armies: and so especially with GEORGE THE FOURTH and all the soldiers who have sworn to march over sands or through swamps, for his honour and glory, at (let us be liberal) thirteen-pence per diem. How many times have the horse guards been transformed within the last ten years? (“Go count the leaves in yonder forest.”) All the army has been so many little dolls for the recreation of MAJESTY; they have been stripped and dressed, re-buttoned, and their tails cut short, that by this time they deserve to be called the Royal Fancy Cameleons. However, another change is to take place. The following paragraph from a cotemporary, proves that the King’s Dolls are to undergo one more mutation.

“The costume of the British Army is to be altered in December next:—instead of jackets, long coats with single breasts are to be worn.”—*Country Paper*.

To be sure, considering the present tranquil and flourishing state of the country, at a period when our “operatives” are celebrating the prosperity and abundance of the time with song and dance—at such a period when the general good feeling admits of no enquiry, when there is nothing to improve in affairs, and the legislature may keep holiday, it is but necessary that royal cogitations should digest the cut of red serge and the amplitude of military skirts. The soldiers certainly do approximate to the dignity of dolls; but what of that, they are the play things of a monarch—a monarch of taste; and why should the Duke of Wellington or the Marquis of Anglesea care about filling the place of a wooden doll, when one of the greatest kings is nothing more than a little girl. We believe the suits of the Guard’s trumpeters cost each seventy-two pounds: should their habiliments be newly-fashioned, we would humbly submit that a figure of a five shillings per week cotton-spinner be worked in the back or on the lappets: it would speak most eloquently to the feelings of all men.

LINGERING SPITE OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

THE persecution which I have received has come to me as a matter of trade. I have not been annoyed with or without it, as far as it has been applied to myself; but I have been much annoyed by the detention of Perry, Clarke, Campion and Hassell in Newgate, after my liberation, and after the cessation of further arrests upon the same ground. Hassell's time having expired, the three former individuals have been removed to the Giltspur Street Compter. This removal has been long talked of, and was carried into effect on the morning of the 25th instant. Its strict legality is questionable, and much formality took place before it was done. The City Magistrates suggested to Mr. Peel, that as their case was somewhat hard and extraordinary, a liberation would be preferable to a removal. Consultations took place upon the subject. I felt confident of the liberation on such an occasion combined with the magisterial recommendation. The City Aldermen must not be in high repute at the Home Department; for it is rare indeed that the recommendation of a knot of country Magistrates is uncomplied with. While I was in Dorchester Gaol, I have heard the admission, that very improper recommendations have been complied with. But in this case, on Monday last, Mr. Peel sent back word to Newgate, that he saw nothing in the cases of Perry, Clarke and Campion to justify his recommending their liberation to the King! Nothing! in a three years imprisonment for selling that which I will sell on any day to Mr. Peel or his agent! Nothing! in the vindictive sentence of Newman Knowlys, the Recorder! Nothing! in confining those men while the instigator to the acts for which they are confined is not molested for similar acts! Nothing, after the liberation of William Haley, a bad character who had got among them, at the recommendation of such a character as the late Joseph Butterworth! If Perry, Clarke and Campion are criminals in the eyes of Mr. Peel, then Mr. Peel must be a criminal in the eyes of the country, for suffering similarly criminal acts to be performed unmolestedly before his face. Or will Mr. Peel acknowledge that he a minister of state, of law and justice is, held in terrorem by me a daring and defying criminal of the stamp of those men whose liberation he cannot justly recommend to the King! The one or the other horn of this dilemma is his inevitable portion. I dare no one; but I will defend my conduct against all who-oppose it.

R. C.

MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

I COPY the following defence of the London Mechanics' Institution from the Trades' Newspaper; first, because it is in itself good; and second, because I can vouch for the name of Thomas Single being the real name of a real person, a person known to me, and an old correspondent of mine. I have every reason to suppose Mr. Single an honest man; though I have lately noticed that he has become a singular projector of schemes, the failure of adoption in regard to which has, perhaps, induced him to prefer the bliss of ignorance to the vexations of unavoidable or ill applied knowledge. I have a proof of Mr. Single's honesty or sincerity of acting up to his profession in the fact, that, as soon as his knowledge led him to discover that ignorance was preferable to knowledge, he moved his children from a respectable academy at which they were placed, under the presumption that further education would injure them.

R. C.

" To the Journeymen of Great Britain.

" The Editor of your (*The Trades'*) newspaper is certainly the most impartial of all editors. No one can justly complain that he does not let him see what can be written on both sides of every important question. ' Bread Wages'—' Minimum of Wages'—' Mechanics' Institutions'—' Machinery'—' Corn'—' Finance'—' Debt'—' Taxes'—' Currency'—' Population'—' Labour and Capital' have all had their advocates and opponents. Even Mr. ' Thomas Single, of Mile-end' has not been denied a place in the columns of *The Trades' Newspaper*. This is as it should be: discussion on important subjects must produce good. No doubt the Editor knows who Mr. Single really is; for though it is of but little importance to the reader who the writer is, it is of some importance to an editor to know whom his contributors are, lest some of them should turn out to be wolves in sheep's clothing.

" Mr. Single may be described as an avowed enemy to the improvement of the working classes—the advocate for ignorance. Were it not that his letter dogmatizes on subjects of vital importance to the working people—namely, Machinery, which but too many are disposed to consider as an enemy, and the principles which govern the rate of wages, his communication, as a piece of reasoning, might remain unnoticed. But as these matters must be clearly understood by the working people, before their condition can be much improved, and as he has decried the

knowledge which may lead to these desirable results, his performance must not be passed over.

“ Mr. Single asserts, that ‘ SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND MACHINERY have so reduced the QUANTITY OF LABOUR, that men are starving from the want of work.’

“ This either betrays great ignorance or great waywardness. I shall meet this assertion by another—namely, that *in every branch of business whatsoever, without any exception, SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND MACHINERY have INCREASED THE QUANTITY OF EMPLOYMENT.** I say this advisedly, and in consequence of an extensive and long-continued inquiry, and I shall be corrected, when a set of cases shall be produced in which my assertion is shown to be incorrect: I have never yet been able to find one. Political Economists predicate this from general principles, and practice proves the truth of the principles. Mr. Single says, ‘ What is the use of talking about a thing being good in principle, if it be bad in practice !’ but who that has any understanding ever uses such jargon ? A thing cannot be ‘ good in principle and bad in practice,’—the words are sheer nonsense. If a thing be good in principle, it must be good in practice ; it does, however, happen, that when a bad practice has continued a long time, and people have been induced to embark property in concerns connected with the bad practice, till it has become extensive, to adopt the good principle, and carry it into practice all at once may injure or even ruin a number of people, and cases may undoubtedly occur in which the bad practice should be gradually superseded, and the good principle be gradually introduced—but this is the whole extent ; the ‘ good principle is not bad in practice’ because the removal of what is bad cannot be done away with conveniently at once. But if the use of scientific machinery does, as Mr. Single asserts it does, reduce the QUANTITY of employment, it is plain, that in time it will destroy the people ; and as ‘ *the public good is the supreme law,*’ I should be disposed to go a great way further than Mr. Single has gone, and should say, AS THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT MAKE THE PUBLIC GOOD ‘ THE SUPREME LAW,’ TAKE THE LAW INTO YOUR OWN HANDS, BREAK ALL THE MACHINERY, DESTROY ALL THE BUILDINGS WHICH CONTAIN IT, KNOCK THOSE ON THE HEAD WHO HAVE MADE IT, AND EXTINGUISH THE GOVERNMENT WHICH COUNTENANCES A SYSTEM WHICH WILL OTHERWISE EXTINGUISH YOU. This is doctrine which all men will, I am sure, concur in, for the people ought not to suffer themselves to be extirpated. But, if on the contrary, the use of the machinery does actually increase the demand for labourers, how mischievous is it to teach doctrines

* “ The whole quantity of employment in every branch to which the machinery is applied, including the workers in metal, machines, buildings, &c. occasioned by the use of machinery.

which tend to the destruction of the very means of increasing '*the quantity of labour.*'

"Mr. Single inveighs against Mechanics' Institutions. He says, 'I know of no journeyman in any trade who works from five in the morning to seven at night, and works six whole days out of the seven, than can earn more than is barely sufficient to support himself and family.' Does Mr. Single mean that ALL journeymen work these long hours, and that too with incessant toil six days out of seven, and that they get only a bare maintenance? If he does, he must be deplorably ignorant. Every journeyman in London knows that there are many thousands who do not work these long hours, and who yet earn more than is barely necessary to keep themselves and families. Let him look at the fields on a fine Sunday evening, and he will see multitudes of journeymen and their wives much better dressed, and much more genteel in their conduct than their employers were within my recollection. Let him look at their dwellings, and he will find every thing corresponding with their increase of knowledge and self respect. I lament, as much as any man can, that this is not the case with all. But again, every journeyman has not a family to support, and while he has not, what can the unmarried journeyman do which to him can be half so useful, as his spending his three farthings a day on a Mechanics' Institution, where he may acquire the most useful knowledge? Mr. Single, like all those who hate information and love ignorance in the "*lower orders*," as the great vulgar call the working people, sinks the principal objects of Mechanics' Institutions, and blazons forth those which have been cavilled at. In the London Mechanics' Institution, the model for all others, Mr. Single knows, or if he does not know, he should not presume to give his advice until he does know, that there have been many useful lectures on mechanics, on chemistry, as applied to the arts,—to the arts practised under the name of trade by multitudes of journeymen,—and on geography; that there are schools in that Institution in which considerable numbers of journeymen learn arithmetic, algebra, and geometry,—things of much importance to them and to their families, as they are to every one's else; that considerable numbers have learned, and are learning, the French language; and that there is, in fact, no branch of useful knowledge in which journeymen may not acquire information, and which numbers do not acquire. But they who cavil, like Mr. Single, will still pretend that knowledge is not useful to journeymen—and in this they will persist, in spite of the evidence of their eyes and ears. Those who like to see people slaves hate knowledge. "Aye," say they, "but show us how Mechanics' Institution knowledge can be useful." Well I will do this, by telling a true story.

I was a journeyman at eighteen years of age, having no rela-

tion or patron able to assist me in any way. I got married before I was of age, and soon had a family. My business was one of the worst in London, both as to uncertainty of constant employment, and as to wages. I soon experienced the terrible evils of poverty. It may be fairly said, that I had no other prospect than that of living a life of misery myself, and of turning loose into the world a large number of wretched children. From this I was saved by precisely such teaching as journeymen may receive in Mechanics' Institutions. My school learning was merely reading, writing a bad hand, and arithmetic to vulgar fractions. But I had a good worthy man for my school-master, who, during the half-year before I was put to a trade, taught me a little geography, and thus excited a desire in me to know more of my own and of foreign countries, the shape and motion of the earth and of the solar system: thus my ideas were somewhat enlarged. He showed me also a book of anatomy, and thus further excited my curiosity; and poor as I was, and as I for several years continued to be, I always found the means of procuring books on various subjects, and these I read diligently. Thrown out of employment by no fault of my own, and kept out of employment for several months, I employed my time in learning arithmetic, some geometry, and in reading a portion of Euclid: this I did without any assistance. "Oh!" say all the Thomas Singles in the world, "yours is not a common case; and of what use, after all, could these branches of learning be to a poor leather breeches maker?" True, Messrs. Single, mine is not a common case, and this is a conclusive reason for supporting Mechanics' Institutions. They will make such cases much more common among the most respectable journeymen; and these are they who will in the first instance become members of such institutions. As to the use of this kind of learning, we shall see that presently. While struggling in poverty to maintain my family I was joined by four other journeymen, each of whom paid sixpence a-week to a poor French emigrant for a lesson in his language. A desire for knowledge had been excited in each of us by different causes, and the more we knew the more we desired to know: and this desire never ceased in any one of us, and is as strong in me at the present moment, as it was at any period of my life.

"Increase of knowledge produced increase of self-respect. I had never since the day of my marriage drunk so much as a pint of porter at any one time, and had scarcely ever spent so much as sixpence at any one time on myself, except the French teacher;—my coadjutors were as poor, or nearly as poor as myself, and equally sober and industrious. And now, Messrs. Single, mark the result—every man of us flourished; one only did not become a master, because his business was a secondary business, but all became respectable men, and nearly all became men of property. Had we had the advantage of the London Me-

chanics' Institution—could we have had knowledge imparted at such an institution, our poverty would have been of short duration—our success earlier, and more certain—our cares, anxieties, and fears would have been lessened, and our families benefitted much earlier. Every man cannot succeed in the same way, and to the same extent as I and my fellows succeeded: but a great number may, and, by aid of Mechanics' Institutions, most assuredly they will succeed. Let then the Messrs. Single preach for ignorance, the parent of vice and crime, and misery to the working people; heed them not—go on—get all the knowledge you can;—no man can tell how much any kind of knowledge may aid him hereafter. My imperfect knowledge of the French language put hundreds of pounds in my pocket; the knowledge of art and science, although in none had I enough to entitle me to become a professor, were of all but infinite service to me; they gained me valuable friends—they enabled me to use all my means—they increased my business—they procured me never-ceasing enjoyments; and finally, when I was enabled to quit business altogether, they supplied me, and will continue to supply me with constant and pleasurable occupation. Get knowledge, my friends, and let your motto ever be, 'ABOVE ALL THINGS, KNOWLEDGE.' "F. P."

MAGISTERIAL POLITICS.

IN the town of Dudley in Worcestershire, the Magistrates have not taken the lessons which the Ministers seem to have taken on the inutility and wickedness of political persecution. The following statement has been printed.—

"A circumstance occurred in this town in May, of a novel and singular nature. As it has excited a considerable sensation, I beg to hand you the particulars, which you may rely upon as being accurately stated. A Mr. Samuel Cooke, a respectable draper, whose establishment is situated in High Street, is in the habit of exhibiting in his shop window certain papers of a heterogeneous description; sometimes political, at other times containing matters relative to the business of the town. It appears, that, on the day in question, he had exhibited a placard containing expressions which the "powers that be" conceived had a pernicious tendency, and it was considered necessary to obtain possession of the obnoxious written paper. An odd red-headed runner of errands was by them promised protection and a reward to break the windows and take the papers. Accordingly, whilst Mr. Samuel Cooke was at dinner, at two o'clock on the market-day, when all was bustle and confusion in the street, the man made a regular attack upon the glass, seized certain papers, and handed them to one of the town Constables, who immediately rescued the fellow

from a person who had collared him, promised to be bail for him, and then walked off. The papers so unjustifiably taken were transmitted by the authorities here to the official authorities in London, and were immediately returned with an answer, that they did not see the expediency of interfering; but if those who sent them could discover any thing in them of a dangerous or libellous tendency, they might act according to their own view of the importance of the case. Several papers have since been forcibly taken from the window; and at night another pane of glass broken."

Mr. Cooke was summoned before the Magistrates, and on the refusal to give bail was committed to Worcester. He was confined three weeks; but at the late Assizes he traversed the case and bailed.

The tenour of the papers were wisely considered by the Ministers as indifferent. Though strongly tinged with an expression of indignity at the suffering and starving state of the people, and though Mr. Cooke's remedy was a Minister's head for every person starved to death, those Ministers do not seem to have been alarmed at the proposition, and the Magistrates have foolishly raised a storm about nothing. Mr. Cooke seems determined to defend his right to publish his sentiments upon any subject, and perhaps his firmness will accomplish among the little despots of Dudley what the greater despots have been made to feel: *that all prosecutions for the statement of opinions on public matters are inexpedient and produce an effect contrary to the one desired.* Our present Ministers seem to understand this well, and I wonder that when Mr. Peel could not see the expediency of proceeding against Mr. Cooke, he could not see the expediency of liberating Perry, Champion, and Clarke, instead of removing them from one gaol to another, after an imprisonment of two years and upwards for the mere sale of that which we now sell as openly and as commonly as tobacco and snuff are sold. How is this, Mr. Peel?

R. C.

FREE DISCUSSION.

PUBLIC discussions on the validity of revealed religion are extending. The possession of a regular chapel by the Rev. Robt. Taylor is a point gained, a step in advance made. The Cateaton-street Room is likely to be occupied by a sort of branch of the Christian Evidence Society. Several meetings of this branch have taken place in Primrose-street, and the numerous audience makes a larger place necessary. The Christians cannot stand before free discussion. The Unitarians crow over Mr. Beard's letters but these letters are blank indeed on every thing that can be considered a valid evidence of the good foundation of Christianity.

I wish we had more of such opponents as Mr. Beard; for we must gain in its being seen, that men of first rate ability can do nothing for the support of Christianity upon tenable grounds. Notwithstanding the great distresses of the people, this is an important era. The people can only get rid of their distress by getting rid of taxation and they are not in a state to talk of getting rid of taxation, while they are in a state to be priest-ridden! Ignorance is a primary cause of their present sufferings. It is rare to see a well informed moral man in distress. Such circumstances do occur; but they happen as exceptions to the rule. Misfortunes do happen; but nine cases out of ten that pass under this title would be more properly called misconducts.

In a few months, we shall see free discussion on matters of religion publicly practised wherever two chapels can be found in one place in this Island.

R. C.

JOINT STOCK BOOK COMPANY.

THE little stock of the Company, the nucleus of a larger one, is now arranged in its intended place, and open to the examination of every subscriber, or of any respectable person. The printing-office is not yet in order, from alterations to make it more commodious, so that, though we have more works partly done, we have finished nothing since "Janus on Sion," which will be ready for delivery in a few days. It must be the work of another week, to state the total of receipts, expenditure, &c., as an arrangement of the stock in its proper place was not completed until the 27th instant. Were wages paid for management, a more early arrangement would have been made; but no expence has been incurred beyond that of getting up the works by the printer and binder. I now purpose to charge the Company £30. per year for the rent of the room in which the stock is placed, a sum which may be made of the room, if let for any other purpose. This charge is to commence from Midsummer last, and will constitute the total expence of management for the first year. In addition to its being a room large enough to contain twenty times the amount of the present stock, it has all the conveniences which are required for book-keeping, and it has that respectability of appearance and locality which the subscribers must desire. In this room the Company may be said to have made its first appearance; for though books have been printed and on sale, the stock as a whole has been nowhere visible. All persons who have contemplated a subscription to this Company, are desired to inspect its procedure for their satisfaction. We can proceed steadily without more subscriptions; but here is space, and it is now desirable to make it an affair of magnitude.

One good publication sells another, and the more we print, the more we sell of each work.

Some careful expences will be necessarily and prudently incurred, in this quarter, for advertisements. A regular prospectus printed as a circular will soon appear, and nothing shall be neglected to advance the interests of the company.

Queen Mab and Good Sense are the best selling books which the company has printed; but every copy of every other book will be sure to sell. We shall make the octavo books now printed into another or third volume of the Deist, as one means of extending the sale, this work having had near two thousand subscribers.

I can only repeat that the property of the company is now visible and tangible and will rapidly accumulate. The interest of five per cent for the money advanced will be payable at the end of each half year, and if not called for at Christmas will be carried to the amount of the subscriptions.

RICHARD CARLILE.

62, FLEET STREET.

SOME weeks will pass before we get the business in complete order; but when the intended arrangements are made, we shall put on an imposing appearance. We sell off soiled books rapidly at the old shop, and shall continue selling there until some thousands are got rid off, unless we find a tenant. The coming in is very easy to any one wanting such a shop and rooms. Our present arrangement is to make up for a shilling, books that have sold at the amount of eight or ten shillings: and some of these really interesting books. They are perfect as to legibility but some of them much soiled and others on bad paper.

TO THE READERS OF "THE REPUBLICAN" IN NOTTINGHAM AND ITS VICINITY.

Mrs. Susannah Wright, now a widow, a native of Nottingham, will supply any persons in that town and neighbourhood with my publications, or with London publications generally, where an order is given and a deposit made as a security for being called for. Mrs. Wright's present residence, until she can suit herself in a shop, is with her mother, Mrs. Godber, at No. 10, Kidd Street, Platt Street, Nottingham.

Printed and Published by R. CARLILE, 62, Fleet Street.—All Correspondences for "The Republican," to be left at the place of publication.